

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5635

INFO AMCONSUL BIEN HOA

AMCONSUL CAN THO

AMCONSUL DANANG

AMCONSUL NHA TRANG

CINCPAC

USDEL JEC PARIS

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PFOR PINS VS

SUB: FURTHER ON THIEU JUNE 6 SPEECH

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

A) SAIGON 7548 (NOTAL); B) FBIS S-070915 JUNE 7 (NOTAL)

1. REF A SUMMARIZED BRIEF SAIGON RADIO REPORTING OF PRES
THIEU'S JUNE 6 ADDRESS TO A TEACHERS' GATHERING AT THU DUC, NEAR
SAIGON. REF B TRANSMITTED TO FULL TEXT OF AN EXTENSIVE VERBATIM
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EXCERPT FROM THE SPEECH CARRIED IN JUNE 7 VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE

EDITION OF OFFICIAL VIETNAM PRESS (VNP. THE VNP EXCERPT IS THE FULL TEXT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE FIRST 11 MINUTES, WHICH WERE DEVOTED TO THE EDUCATIONAL THEME OF THE THU DUC MEETING. MUCH OF WHAT THIEU SAID HAS BEEN ONLY CURSORILY OR INACCURATELY REPORTED BY THE WESTERN PRESS. TRANSMITTED HERewith ARE PORTIONS OF THE VERBATIM TEXT AS CARRIED BY VNP AND TRANSLATED BY FBIS, SLIGHTLY EDITED FOR CLARITY. FULL TEXT OF THIEU TEXT FOLLOWS SEPTEL. (BECAUSE TEXT IS VERBATIM AND THIEU SPOKE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY, THERE ARE OCCASIONAL PROBLEMS OF SYNTAX.) THE COMMUNISTS HAVE INDEED "RENEWED THEIR AGGRESSION"

2. PRES THIEU STRESSED THAT THE CEASEFIRE HAS NOT BEEN SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED: "ALTHOUGH PEOPLE HAVE SAID THAT PEACE HAS BEEN RESTORED IN OUR COUNTRY SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE -- HOW FINE AND PROMISING THESE WORDS ARE* -- REALITY HAS PROVEN THE CONTRARY. SINCE SIGNING THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT, WHAT HAS HAPPENED DAILY HERE ... IS NOT SOMETHING WHICH LASTS ONLY A FEW DAYS OR MONTHS, NOT ISOLATED CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS OR ORDINARY INCIDENTS OR RESULTING FROM A MISUNDERSTANDING THIS IS NOT THE CASE HERE THE PEACE OR CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT HAS NOT BEEN SERIOUSLY IMPLEMENTED BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALREADY RESTARTED THEIR WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST SVN WITH A VIEW TO ANNEXING IT WITH FORCE THEIR PRINCIPAL MEANS ARE THE USE OF WEAPONS, FORCE, AND VIOLENCE. NVN, WITH A POPULATION OF 20 MILLION, IS INVADING OUR COUNTRY."

3. PRES THIEU THEN SAID THAT THE FACT THAT THE COMMUNISTS' HENCHMEN IN SVN AND ABROAD SEEK TO DEFEND THE COMMUNIST CAUSE GIVES HIM NO WORRY. MORE TROUBLESOME, HOWEVER, ARE THE "MANY NAIVE PERSONS WHO HAVE FAILED TO GET A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. AND A NUMBER OF SEGMENTS OR WORLD OPINION HAVE PRETENDED TO IGNORE THE TRUTH, OR HAVE IRRESPONSIBLY SOUGHT TO DODGE THE TRUTH ACCORDING TO THEM, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT RESUMED THEIR AGGRESSION, AND THERE WILL BE A GENERAL OFFENSIVE OR REAGGRESSION ONLY WHEN THEY DEPLOY THREE OF FOUR INFANTRY DIVISIONS ... IN THEIR OPINION, THERE WAS A REAL GENERAL OFFENSIVE IN 1972, BECAUSE 50,000 TO 70,000 -- OR FIVE TO SIX DIVISIONS -- OF NVA TROOPS OPENLY CROSSED THE DEMARCATION LINE, OR THE BEN HAI RIVER ... BUT, AT PRESENT, BECAUSE THERE IS NO CROSSING OF NVA TROOPS OVER THE BEN HAI OR THACH HAN RIVER, UNCLASSIFIED

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THESE PEOPLE HAVE SAID THERE IS NO GENERAL OFFENSIVE, AND THEY WONDER WHY THE RVN HAS SOUNDED THE ALARM ... WE HAVE ONLY REVEALED A FACT, AND WE ARE DOING WHAT WE MUST DO. WE HAVE ASKED NOBODY TO DO IT FOR US. WE MUST TELL THE TRUTH TO EVERYONE SO THAT THE COMMUNISTS CANNOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NAIVETE OF THESE PEOPLE (BUT) WE DO NOT ASK THEM TO COME TO SVN TO DIE OR TO FIGHT IN OUR PLACE."

3. PRES THIEU THEN EXPLAINED THAT THE REASON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE LAUNCHED THE 1972 OFFENSIVE WAS BECAUSE THEY HAD BECOME DESPERATE, "SERIOUSLY WEAKENED AS A RESULT OF THE ATTACKS WE LAUNCHED AGAINST THEM IN CAMBODIA AND THEN IN LAOS. IT MUST (ALSO) BE SAID THAT THE TERRIBLE BOMBING AGAINST NVN AT THAT TIME SERIOUSLY DRAINED NVN RESOURCES THE COMMUNISTS THEN REALIZED THEY COULD NO LONGER ENDURE SUCH A SITUATION, BECAUSE THEY WOULD SURELY LOSE THE GAME IN THE LONG RUN. THEREFORE, THEY FOUND IT NECESSARY TO PUT ALL THEIR FORCES AT STAKE IN THE 1972 GENERAL OFFENSIVE."

4. TURNING TO THE PRESENT SITUATION, PRES THIEU ASKED, "DO THE COMMUNISTS NEED NOW TO RENEW SUCH AN ACT? I THINK THEY NEED NOT DO SO, BECAUSE BY THE TIME THEY SIGNED THE PARIS AGREEMENT, THEY ALREADY HAD IN THE SOUTH 300,000 TROOPS AND A LARGE QUANTITY OF MODERN WEAPONS, AND NOW, IGNORING THE PARIS AGREEMENT, THEY HAVE INFILTRATED AN ADDITIONAL 150,000 TROOPS AND NUMEROUS TANKS AND ARTILLERY PIECES. YET, THEY HAVE FACED NO REACTION, AND IT MAY BE SAID NOW THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE READY FOR ANY ATTACKS AND THAT THEIR FIGHTING POTENTIAL HAS BEEN RESTORED AND IS PROBABLY STRONGER THAN IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE 1972 GENERAL OFFENSIVE. THEREFORE, THEY NEED NOT SEND TROOPS ACROSS THE BEN HAI RIVER. ALL THAT THEY NEED HAS BEEN BROUGHT HERE."

5. PRES THIEU CONTINUED: "NOW THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE LAUNCHED MASSIVE LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS IN ALL FOUR OF THE MILITARY REGIONS, SOME PEOPLE STILL HOLD THAT THESE ARE NOT LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS AND THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT RENEWED THEIR AGGRESSION. THIS, IN MY OPINION, IS A STUBBORN AND ERRONEOUS ARGUMENT OF THESE WHO DO NOT WANT TO FACE THE TRUTH. THESE PEOPLE WANT TO ACT AS POLICEMEN WHO STAND READY AT THE DOOR AND WAIT FOR THE ROBBER TO BREAK THROUGH AND THEN MAKE A REPORT ON THE BREAK-IN THIS IMPOTENCE HAS FURTHER ENCOURAGED THE AGGRESSOR"

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INAPPLICABILITY OF THE LAOS AGREEMENT TO SVN

6. NEXT PRES THIEU TURNED TO THE LAOTIAN SITUATION, WHERE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NVA TROOPS BY JUNE 4, AND WHERE THE LAST US TROOPS HAVE LEFT. "MEANWHILE, THE 50,000 TO 60,000 NVA TROOPS IN LAOS CONTINUE TO REMAIN THERE; AND NO ONE HAS DARED TO DEMAND THEIR WITHDRAWAL, EXCEPT FOR MAKING SOME FEEBLE, INEFFECTIVE REMARKS." IN CAMBODIA TOO THE COMMUNISTS HAVE TALKED ABOUT TROOPS WITHDRAWAL, PRES THIEU POINTED OUT, BUT ARE "LAUNCHING EVEN MORE VIOLENT ATTACKS."

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

7. AGAIN SPEAKING OF LOAS, PRES THIEU SAID: "IN 1962, THE COMMUNISTS AND THE COLONIALISTS CONCLUDED ANOTHER AGREEMENT ON LAOS. AS A RESULT, A THREE-SEGMENT, OR TRIPARTITE, AND LEFTIST NATIONAL COALITION GOVT WAS FORMED. THE COMMUNISTS TRIED BY EVERY MEANS TO CONTROL THE NEUTRALIST SEGMENT -- OR THE THIRD SEGMENT, OR THIRD FORCE--SO THAT THEY COULD USE THE COMMUNISTS PATHET LAO AND THE NEUTRALISTS TO KNOCK OUT THE NATIONALISTS... THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS BELIEVED THAT WITH SUCH AN AGREEMENT AND WITH NVA TROOPS LEFT BEHIND IN LAOS, THEY COULD TAKE OVER LAOS

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AND DRIVE THE AMERICANS OUT.

8. "RECENTLY, THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS GAINED THE UPPER HAND.... THE 50,000 OR 60,000 NVA TROOPS REMAIN IN PLACE, WITHOUT ANYONE DARING TO SPEAK OF THEIR PRESENCE.... THEREFORE, THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS HAVE NOW REALIZED THAT THEIR TRICKS HAVE PAID OFF. WITH THE EXISTING COALITION SYSTEM FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS, IF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST, NATIONALIST SIDE REJECTS THEIR MANEUVERS, THEY WILL AGAIN RETURN TO THE JUNGLES.... THE AMERICANS AND EVERYONE ELSE HAVE LEFT.... THE COMMUNISTS ARE PERFORMING THE OLD FARCE THAT THEY PERFORMED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1962 AGREEMENT.... IF THEY WIN (IN THE COALITION), THEY WILL BE THE LORDS; IF THEY FAIL, THEY WILL (JUST) RETURN TO THE JUNGLE.... I AM CONVINCED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL KEEP THE PATHET LAO TROOPS IN THE ZONE UNDER THEIR CONTROL AND WILL KEEP NVA TROOPS TO SUPPORT THEM.... THUS, WHILE KEEPING THEIR TROOPS IN THE JUNGLE AND THEIR TERRITORY INTACT, THE PATHET LAOS HAVE SENT THEIR POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES TO INFILTRATE THE CAPITAL OF LAOS. THE OUTLOOK IS THAT ANOTHER COMMUNIST PARTY AND COALITION GOVT WILL EMERGE. I DO NOT WANT TO MEDDLE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF LAOS, BUT IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT WERE CONCLUDED FOR VIETNAM, I, AS A RESPONSIBLE VIETNAMESE, WOULD NEVER ACCEPT IT IF WOULD HOLD THAT THE PATH CHARTED BY SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD LEAD TO THE LOSS OF THE COUNTRY....

9. "LET ME RECALL THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH THE PARIS AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. WHY HAVE THE COMMUNIST NOT IMPLEMENTED THIS AGREEMENT (IN SVN)? WHY HAVE THEY STRICTLY, VERY STRICTLY, IMPLEMENTED THE PARIS AGREEMENT IN LAOS? BECAUSE IT IS IN THEIR BEST INTERESTS TO STRICTLY AND SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON LAOS. THROUGH THE 1954 AGREEMENTS, THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS SOLD OUT HALF OF VIETNAM TO THE COMMUNISTS. THAT WAS WHY THE COMMUNISTS, WITH SMILES ON THEIR FACES AND WITH OPEN ARMS, STRICTLY AND SCURPULOUSLY IMPLEMENTED THOSE ACCORDS. ANOTHER AGREEMENT ON LAOS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED.... IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT WERE CONCLUDED FOR VIETNAM, I AS A VIETNAMESE WOULD VISUALIZE THE INEVITABLE LOSS OF COUNTRY."

ON THE DRAFT PARIS AGREEMENT AS ANNOUNCED ON OCT 26, 1972:
THREE UNACCEPTABLE POINTS.

10. PRES THIEU DWELT AT SOME LENGTH ON THE INADEQUACIES OF THE
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DAFT PARIS AGREEMENT WHICH WAS ANNOUNCED ON OCT 26, 1972. "HAD WE FAILED TO REVEAL THE OCT 26, 1972 AGREEMENT AT THE RIGHT TIME, ITS FINAL FORM WOULD HAVE BEEN IDENTICAL TO THAT OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT ON LAOS.... AND OUR COUNTRY WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST. IF

THE OCT 26, 1972 AGREEMENT, WHICH I REVEALED TO MY COMPATRIOTS OVER TRV ON THE EVENING OF OCT 26, 1972, HAD BEEN ACCEPTED, THE COMMUNISTS, WITH SMILES ON THEIR FACES AND WITH OPEN ARMS, WOULD HAVE VERY STRICTLY IMPLEMENTED IT, BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A VICTORY FOR THEM AND WOULD HAVE LED US TO DEATH. HAD THAT AGREEMENT BEEN ACCEPTED, WE WOULD HAVE DIED LONG AGO; I WOULD SAY WITHIN SIX MONTHS....AT THAT TIME, WE PROTESTED AND REFUSED TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT. IF IT HAD BEEN SIGNED,...IT WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN THE FORMATION OF A THREE-SEGMENT GOVT, FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS. IF SUCH A GOVT WULD HAVE BEEN SET UP, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PRESIDED OVER BY A CERTAIN PUPPET, WITH THE SAIGN SEGMENT ON HIS RIGHT AND THE LIBERATION FRONT SEGMENT ON HIS LEFTDECISIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN HANDED DOWN...TO BE CARRIED OUT BY THE GOVT, FROM THE CENTRAL LEVEL TO THE VILLAGE AND HAMLET LEVELS. THIS WAS THE FIRST POINT CONTAINED IN THE TEXT OF THE OCT 26, 1972 AGREEMENT.

11. "THE SECOND POINT," PRES THIEU CONTINUED, "TALKED ABOUT AUTHORIZING THE SO-CALLED FRONT TO HAVE A SEPARATE COUNTRY SO THAT THERE WOULD BE FOUR OR FIVE COUNTRIES IN INDOCHINA. THE THIRD POINT (WAS THAT THE AGREEMENT) DID NOT MENTION THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS' WITHDRAWAL. THIS POINT ALONE COULD CAUSE US TO LOSE OUR COUNTRY. FOR THIS REASON, WE OPPOSED AND SUCCEEDED IN ELIMINATING THESE THREE POINTS IN THE THREE MONTHS BEFORE WE CONCLUDED THE AGREEMENT. WHY DID THE COMMUNISTS AGREE TO SIGN THIS AGREEMENT?...THEY WERE FORCED TO SIGN IT BECAUSE IT WAS NOT THE AGREEMENT THEY DESIRE. THE VIETNTANE AGREEMENT IS THE TYPE OF AGREEMENT THEY DESIRE. THE AGREEMENT OF JAN 27, 1973, WAS NOT THE TYPE OF AGREEMENT THEY DESIRED. HOWEVER, THE COMMUNISTS WERE FORCED BY THE UNITED STATES TO SIGN IT."

12. PRES TIEU ADDED THE FOLLOWING RE THE OCT 26 1972 DRAFT AGREEMENT: "ACCORDING TO SCHEDULE, THE AGREEMENT WAS TO BE SIGNED ON OCT 30; EVERYONE HAND BEEN READY AND WAITING. PEOPLE HAD TALKED ABOUT AN HEROIC WITHDRAWAL AND A PEACE IN HONOR.... SUDDENLY, WE REACTED, BEACUSE THE AGREEMENT RAN COUNTER TO OUR BASIC NATIONAL INTERESTS. BUT THE (EVENTUAL) SIGNING OF AN AGREE-
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MENT WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE, AT THAT TIME, THE UNITED STATES NEEDED AN AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR. THE PARIS AGREEMENT WAS NOT PERFECT, BUT WAS NECESSARY TO SATISFY US PUBLIC OPINION AND THE POLITICAL REPUIREMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.... FOR THIS REASON, AT THAT TIME (OCT 1972) COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM SAID TO THE US (AND NOT TO US, BECAUSE WE KNEW NOTHING OF WHAT WAS GOING ON); YOU MUST SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON OCT 26 AS YOU HAVE PROMISED. YOU MUST SIGN IT. WE DO NOT CARE ABOUT ANY PROTEST OF THE RVN AT THAT TIME, I SAW THAT BECAUSE WE OPPOSED THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT AND BECAUSE OF THE US NEED TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT, THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE TO

USE B-52 AIRCRAFT TO BOMB NVN IN ORDER TO FORCE THE COMMUNISTS
TO SIGN. BECAUSE NVN AND HANOI WERE BOMBED BY B-52 AIRCRAFT,
THE COMMUNISTS AGREED TO SIGN. IF THEY HAD REFUSED, NVN WOULD
HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY DESTROYED."
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AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

A FLAWED AGREEMENT, BUT NO NEW ONE NEEDED

13. PRESIDENT THIEU THEN POINTED OUT THAT BECUASE THE NORTH
VIETNAMESE HAD BEEN FORCED TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT WHICH THEY DID

NOT LIKE, AND BECUASE THE RVN HAD SUCCEDED IN ELIMINATING THE THREE UNDESIRABLE POINTS IN THE OCT 26 DRAFT OF THE AGREEMENT DISCUSSED IN PARAS 10 AND 11 ABOVE, "THIS HAS CAUSED NVN TO BE ANGRY AND TO SEEK EVERY MEANS TO SABOTAGE THE AGREEMENT... WHAT ARE THE COMMUNISTS INTENT ON ACHIEVING ULTIMATELY? THEY UNCLASSIFIED

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ARE INTENT ON ACHIEVING WHAT THEY COULD HAVE ACHIEVED ON THE BASIS OF THE OCT 26 TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT. THAT IS, A COALITION GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH."

14. ACCORDING TO PRESIDENT THIEU, THIS THE COMMUNISTS CAN OBTAIN ONLY THROUGH A SECOND AGREEMENT. "HOWEVER, SINCE THE RVN REFUSES TO ACCEPT THIS FORMULA--WE MUST REFUSE OR ELSE WE WILL DIE; AND WE WOULD RATHER FIGHT AND LOSE THE BATTLE THAN COMMIT SUICIDE -- THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO RESORTTO VIOLENCE TO ADVANCE TOWARD A COLITION GOVERNMENT. THIS EXPLAINS TO COM-MINISTS' ACTIONS. THUS WE CAN SEE THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOW RESUMING A GENERAL MILITARY OFFENSIVE... IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ANOTHER AGREEMENT.. A SECOND AGREEMENT WOULD PROVIDE THE COMMUNISTS WITH CONDITIONS FOR TAKING OVER THE SOUTH."

15. PRESIDENT THIEU CONTINUED: "LET US ASK OURSELVES WHETHER WE WANT TO HAVE ANOTHER AGREEMENT. NO, WE SIMPLY WANT THE PARIS AGREEMENT TO BE RESPECTED, ITS LETTER, ITS SPIRIT, AND (ALL ITS) PROVISIONS -- AND FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS TO BE QUICKLY ORGANIZED. WE DEEM THAT ONCE AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SIGNED, IT MUST BE RESPECTED. THEREFORE, THIS WAS WHY I PROTESTED AGAINST THE OCT 26 DOCUMENT. I SAID THAT SIGNIG AN AGREEMENT WAS A SERIOUS ACTION, AND THAT IF THIS AGREEMENT WAS DIS-ADVANTAGEOUS FOR US, IT WOULD BE BEST THAT I NOT SIGN IT, FOR I AM NOT A COMMUNIST WHO CAN ENGAGE IN DOUBLE DEALING... THIS MODIFIED AGREEMENT (WHICH I SIGNED IN JANUARY) IS, RELATIVELY SPEAKING, A CRIPPLED AGREEMENT. THIS IS BECAUSE, ON THE BASIS OF THIS AGREEMENT, SOME PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED...BUT ITIS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO SOLVE (OTHERS), FOR EXAMPLE, CONSIDER THE PROBLEM CONCERNING THE WITHDRAWAL OF COMMUNIST TROOPS...FOR US, THE ALREADY CIRPPLED PARIS AGREEMENT HAS BECOME EVEN MORE CRIPPLED, BUT AS A SIGNATORY TO THE AGREEMENT, WE WANT TO KEEP OUR FAITH VIS-A-VIS THE WORLD'S PEOPLES, INCLUDING THE COM-MUNISTS. WE DESIRE THE CORRECT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT...I WANT TO STRESS THAT WE SHOULD NOT LET OTHER PEOPLE THINK THAT THE RVN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO REPLACE THE PARIS AGREEMENT WITH ANOTHER AGREEMENT. NO, WE DO NOT WANT THAT. WE HAVE SIGNED THE AGREEMENT, AND WE DESIRE THAT IT BE STRICTLY RESPECTED BY THE COMMUNISTS AND THAT INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE BE EXERTED IN ORDER TO ENSURE ITS RESPOECT. WE DO NOT WISH TO MAKE, OR ASK FOR, ANY CHANGES IN THE AGREEMENT." UNCLASSIFIED

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A CHALLENGE TO THE COMMUNISTS: HOLD ELECTIONS

16. PRESIDENT THIEU CHARGED THAT THE COMMUNISTS KNOW THAT "ONLY WHEN A COALITION GOVERNMENT IS ESTABLISHED FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS CAN THEY HOPE TO WIN IN A GENERAL ELECTION. WITHOUT A COALITION GOVERNMENT, THEY WOULD IN NO WAY BE SURE TO WIN. IF GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE JAN 27, 1973 AGREEMENT, THE COMMUNISTS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO WIN." THE COMMUNISTS WOULD NOT BE SATISFIED WITH ONLY A SHARE OF THE VOTE. "THEY ARE INTENT ON WINNING A DECISIVE VICTORY, WHICH CAN ONLY BE DETERMINED BY PREARRANGEMENT" (BY IMPOSING) A COALITION ARMED FORCE, A COALITION POLICE FORCE, AND COALITION ADMINISTRATION, AND A COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROLLING AND SABOTAGING OUR SOCIETY... WE CHALLENGE THE COMMUNISTS TO AN ELECTION AND WE ARE READY TO ACCEPT ITS CONSEQUENCES, AND THE COMMUNISTS MUST BE READY FOR THAT TOO. THESE ARE THE "RULES OF THE GAME"; BUT THE PLAYERS MUST PLAY FAIR. PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED IN THIS CHALLENGE -- THAT IS, AN ELECTION IS TO BE ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTED HONESTLY UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION." BUT IF NOT, THE COMMUNISTS' RESORT TO FORCE MUST BE MET

17. HOWEVER, PRESIDENT THIEU POINTED OUT, TO THE PRESENT MILITARY CHALLENGE FROM THE COMMUNISTS "WE MUST RETALIATE... UNLESS WE WOULD ACCEPT DEATH... AT PRESENT, WHILE BALLYHOOING ABOUT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THE COMMUNISTS CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT ABDUCTIONS AND ASSASSINATIONS, AS WELL AS TO PLANT MINES AND GRENADES TO KILL EVEN PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS WAR. WITH OUR RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE, CAN WE LET THE COMMUNISTS BEHAVE IN SUCH A MANNER?" HE CONTINUED: "WE NOT ALLOW THE COMMUNISTS TO SUBSTITUTE MILITARY MEANS FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, THAT IS, FOR THE PARIS AGREEMENT, A CEASEFIRE, AND AN ELECTION. NOW THE COMMUNISTS WANT TO SUBSTITUTE A MILITARY SOLUTION FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION... WE MUST PROVE TO THEM THAT THEY WILL FAIL... THEY HAD BETTER SIT DOWN AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND SERIOUSLY NEGOTIATE... THE PURPOSE OF OUR REACTION IS TO MAKE THE COMMUNISTS RECOGNIZE THE FUTILITY OF THEIR RESORT TO FORCE. THEY HAVE FOUGHT IN VAIN FOR THE PAST 19 YEARS; THEY HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO CONQUER SVN. THEY WILL CERTAINLY GAIN NOTHING IN PROLONGING THE WAR FOR ANOTHER 18 OR 19 YEARS. THEREFORE, THEY HAD BETTER HOLD TALKS WITH US. WE CHALLENGE THEM TO (A) POLITICAL STRUGGLE..."

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SVN NEEDS ONLY AID. NOT TROOPS

18. PRESIDENT THIEU PROMISED THAT THE RVN WILL NOT ABANDON THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ITS PEOPLE." WE MUST SAY IN A STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER THAT, AS REGARDS OUR COUNTRY, WE MUST DEFEND IT TO THE END, UNTIL WE LOSE THE BATTLE. WE CANNOT EXPECT ANYONE'S ASSISTANCE, NOR CAN WE PAY ATTENTION TO PEOPLE WHO SAY 'STOP FIGHTING* NO ONE WILL COME*...SO, WE MUST ACT; WE CANNOT WAIT AND SEE... WE SHALL NOT WAIT FOR OTHERS TO BRING IN TROOPS TO HELP US, BECAUSE THIS WILL NEVER HAPPEN. WE ONLY ASK FOR SUFFICIENT AID WITH WHICH TO STRENGTHEN OUR ARMED FORCES, DEVELOP OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH, AND DEFEND OURSELVES. OUR ARMED FORCES DO NOT LACK MEN, WEAPONS, AND AMMUNITION. WE ONLY ASK THAT OUR ALLY GIVE US SUFFICIENT AID. THERE IS NO NEED TO SEND US TROOPS TO THIS COUNTRY."

ON THE SANCTITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

19. PRESIDENT THIEU ASSERTED: "IN THE RVN, UPON SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, WE WERE UNEQUIVOCALLY PROMISED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD BE KEPT FROM INFILTRATING IN THE SOUTH, AND THAT IF THEY INFILTRATED, THEY WOULD MEET WITH A STRONG REACTION. HOWEVER, ALL THE PROMISES MADE BY OUR ALLY, AS WELL AS THOSE MADE BY THE ALLIES OF THE COMMUNISTS THAT THEY WOULD RESTRAIN THEIR LITTLE BROTHER, HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN; AND NONE OF THESE PROMISES HAVE BEEN REALIZED. IN SHORT, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVING EVER STRONGER ENCOURAGEMENT, WHEREAS OUR SIDE HAS BEEN CONFRONTING EVER INCREASING DIFFICULTIES..."

20. REFERRING TO THIS THEME LATER IN HIS ADDRESS, PRESIDENT THIEU SAID, "WE MUST ALSO PROVE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD THAT THEY WERE REALLY IMPOTENT IN FAILING TO PREVENT THE COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS IN 1954 AND 1962, AND THAT NO ONE IS NOW CONFIDENT AS CONCERNS ANY AGREEMENT WITH INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. WE MUST PROVE TO THEM THAT THE PEACE AGREEMENT IN VIETNAM IS NOT ONLY DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN VIETNAM, BUT IS ALSO RELATED TO PEACE IN INDOCHINA AND THROUGHOUT THIS PART OF THE WORLD... IF THE COMMUNISTS ARE ALLOWED AND ENCOURAGED TO ACT WRONGLY, AND IF THE WORLD AVERTS ITS EYES AND FEIGNS IGNORANCE, OR EVADES ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO GUARANTEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS UNCLASSIFIED

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AGREEMENT OF JAN 27, 1973, THIS MEANS THAT THE WORLD WISHES TO SABOTAGE PEACE IN INDOCHINA AND IN SE ASIA." RETURNING WITH

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AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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CINCPAC

EVIDENT PUZZLEMENT TO THE QUESTION OF WHY SOME PEOPLE REFUSE TO
ACKNOWLEDGE THE INCREASED COMMUNIST USE OF MILITARY FORCE IN
RECENT MONTHS, PRESIDENT THIEU STATED"THOSE WHO HAVE SAID THAT
THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT YET LAUNCHED A GENERAL OFFENSIVE CAN
COME HERE SO THAT I CAN CONDUCT THEM TO MILITARY BASES OR OUT-
POSTS WHERE THEY CAN SPEND A SINGLE NIGHT, IN ORDER TO SEE
WHETHER ROCKETS WILL BE POURED ON THEIR HEADS. OR LET THEM
SEND THEIR CHILDREN THERE, IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE
COMMUNIST ROCKETS WILL SPARE THEM. I WONDER WHY THEY CONTINUE
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TO TALK IN AN IRRESPONSIBLE MANNER."

NO COALITION--EVEN AT THE COST OF AID

21. PRESIDENT THIEU LATER IN HIS ADDRESS DISCUSSED THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION FACING THE COUNTRY, NOTING THAT IN TIMES PAST THE WHOLE WORLD LED BY THE US HAD POURED AID INTO EUROPE AND LATER INTO COUNTRIES LIKE JAPAN AND KOREA. "BUT NOW WE ARE NOT ACCORDED THIS TREATMENT", PRESIDENT THIEU POINTED OUT; THERE IS NOW A NEW INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. "WE HAVE HAD TO NEGOTIATE WITH OUR US ALLY." PRESIDENT THIEU NOTED DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE US AND THEN STATED, "I TOLD THE UNITED STATES: IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, AS WELL AS IN ITS OWN HISTORY, THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER LET DOWN ITS ALLIES BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF A WAR. NOW I AGREE WITH YOU ON THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN...WE DO NOT LACK BLOOD AND BONES, AND WE ARE NOT COWARDLY AS CONCERNS REPLACING AMERICAN CITIZENS' BLOOD AND BONES WITH THOSE OF VIETNAMESE. WE ARE READY TO SACRIFICE...BUT AFTER YOUR DEPARTURE, YOU MUST GIVE US MONEY TO HELP US SUSTAIN OUR BLOOD AND BONES...ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL YOU BE ABLE TO FULFILL YOUR OBLIGATION AS AN ALLY LEADING THE FREE WORLD. OTHERWISE, IF YOU STOP CONTRIBUTING YOUR BLOOD AND BONES AND YOUR MONEY, TOO, THIS MEANS YOU COME HERE TO MAKE PEOPLE ANGRY AND THEN EVADE YOUR RESPONSIBILITY...THIS IS WHAT I AFFIRMED TO THE UNITED STATES. IT CLEARLY PROMISED THAT 'IT WOULD WITHDRAW TROOPS AND SEND IN MONEY TO HELP US FEED THE ARMY AND BUILD THE ECONOMY' FOR THIS REASON, I NOW TELL THE UNITED STATES AGAIN THAT AID IS THE ONLY WEAPON WE ARE AWAITING FROM IT."

22. PRESIDENT THIEU POINTED OUT THAT AID BEING RECEIVED FROM OTHER COUNTRIES AT PRESENT IS "NEGLIGIBLE AND SYMBOLIC(ONLY). THEREFORE, YOUR(US) AID IS IMPORTANT AND IS THE CHIEF WEAPON... YES OR NO? WILL YOU DO THIS OR NOT? YOU MUST CONFIRM YOUR STAND. WILL YOU SHOULDER YOUR RESPONSIBILITY AS AN ALLIED COUNTRY TO STAND BY YOUR ALLY TO THE DEATH, AND TO LEAD THE FREE WORLD AND TO PROTECT IT? IF YOUR ANSWER IS NO, THEN WE HAVE NOTHING TO SAY. WE WILL CERTAINLY FIGHT TO THE LAST BULLET...WE WOULD RATHER FIGHT TO THE LAST BULLET AND THE LAST GRAIN OF RICE, UNTIL WE ARE OVERWHELMED BY THE COMMUNISTS, THEN SURRENDER TO THEM. THE OTHER HALF OF THIS NATION WAS FORESAKEN BY THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS AND NOW HAS TO LIVE UNDER A COMMUNIST REGIME. IF THE US

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ALLY ALSO FORESAKES THIS HALF OF OUR NATION AND COUNTRY, IT WILL END UP BY ADDING STRENGTH TO THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE. AND IN DUE COURSE, THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE WILL FIGHT YOU, PROBABLY WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF VIETNAM. THIS COUNTRY WILL, BY THEN, BE FORCED TO FIGHT YOU AGAINST ITS WILL. PROOF OF THIS IS THE FACT THAT AFTER FRANCE FORSOOK HALF OF OUR COUNTRY, THE COMMUNISTS USED THAT HALF TO FIGHT THE UNITED STATES. THEY WILL MAKE PROPER USE OF ALL THEIR SATELLITES TO FIGHT THE FREE WORLD. IF WE WERE ABANDONED TO BECOME A SATELLITE OF THE COMMUNISTS, WE WOULD

ONE DAY CERTAINLY HAVE TO FIGHT THE FREE WORLD, WHETHER WE WANTED
TO OR NOT."

23. PRESIDENT THIEU CONCLUDED HIS JUNE 6 ADDRESS AT THU DUC:
"MY STAND HAS BEEN CONFIRMED. IF WE ARE ASKED, 'GO AHEAD AND
SIGN A COALITION AGREEMENT IN RETURN FOR AID' I DO NOT KNOW
WHAT OTHERSWOULD DO (IN MY PLACE), BUT CERTAINLY I WOULD NOT."
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